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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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FOREIGN MINISTER DETAILS AFGHAN FOREIGN POLICY

Moscow INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS in English No 7, Jul 81 pp 13-19

[Article by Shah Mohammad Dost, Member of the PDPA Central Committee, Minister of Foreign Affairs]

[Text]

**T**he April National Democratic Revolution of 1978 ushered in a new and fundamentally important era in the history of Afghanistan, in its domestic policy, primarily in the socio-economic sphere. It also constituted an extremely important shift in the country's foreign policy. In terms of its class and social orientation, this policy has become an instrument for attaining the lofty goals of the revolution. It has truly become a policy reflecting the people's vital interests on the international scene. Democratic Afghanistan's foreign policy is a consistent policy of peace and resolute defence of the people's national interests.

In steering the government's foreign policy, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) is guided by the well-known principles formulated by Lenin who said that the policies of any state, including its foreign policy, of course, are determined by the socio-economic nature of that state and reflect its class interests. This approach to our foreign policy clarifies the difference between current activities and the policies pursued by the anti-popular regimes of the past. The semi-feudal economy which prevailed in Afghanistan is being replaced by the economy of a national democratic state, which is called upon to serve the interests of the broad working masses. It should be emphasized that this greatly expands and consolidates the socio-class basis of our foreign policy and ensures massive popular support.

Another important feature of our foreign policy is that it has added a new dimension to our relations with the countries of the socialist community, the Soviet Union in particular. We regard the continued consolidation and development of these relations as a major political objective, realizing that it meets the national interests of the people and helps consolidate their independence, and the sovereignty and international positions of the republic.

The qualitatively new features of the country's foreign policy have organic ties with the general democratic principles which it upheld in the past: its commitment to active struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism, and consistent and unreserved support for the struggle of peoples for their freedom and independence. Lastly, they

concern the republic's profound commitment to the policy of non-alignment which plays a vital role in the struggle against the aggressive designs of imperialist and hegemonistic forces. Our country has supported and continues to support the non-alignment movement for its anti-imperialist nature and believes this to be its major source of strength.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan regards the principle of peaceful coexistence and the policy based on this principle as vital not only for the country but for mankind as a whole. Nobody will deny that there is no reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. It is on the basis of this principle that the country endeavours to develop its ties with all other nations.

The April Revolution has done much to help translate these general democratic principles into action, in other words, Afghanistan's foreign policy now meets the interests of the workers and retains the most democratic traditions of the past policies of our state. By this we mean our unflagging determination to maintain and develop our ties with adjacent states in the spirit of good-neighbourliness. These traditions can doubtlessly play a beneficial role in this respect.

This is an outline of the fundamental principles which determine the foreign policy of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan born of the April Revolution.

**H**istory shows, and Afghanistan is yet another illustration of this, that every revolution which is truly popular and affects the social foundations of the state generates opposition among reactionaries. This also applies to our country, where reactionary forces have tried and are still trying to hamper the development of the April Revolution. However, this is only one side of the coin, the other being that external reactionary, imperialist and hegemonistic forces have joined the fight against the revolution and seek, in alliance with internal reaction, to turn the clock back and destroy our revolutionary gains.

This has created a special situation characterized by a state of actual, though undeclared, war against the Afghan revolution, which was unleashed by external imperialist quarters, in violation of the generally recognized norms of international law and in tacit agreement with the Peking hegemonists. At the same time, an anti-Afghan campaign, unprecedented in scale and mendacity, has been launched, whose architects and instigators attempted to undermine the revolution. There is irrefutable evidence that the "Afghan issue" was created not by the popular revolution, but by the attempts of external imperialist forces to strangle the revolution through overt interference in the internal affairs of the sovereign Afghan state. This fundamental fact is indispensable for an objective explanation of international developments that centre around our country.

For almost three years Afghanistan has been in the epicentre of world politics, if such a term can be considered appropriate. Imperialist statesmen and politicians and the bourgeois press are making the most of the "Afghan problem", trying to turn it into a regional as well as an international crisis. But anyone with a modicum of objectivity will realize that our revolution did not and could not cause any international problems because it was a revolution by the Afghan people, in the interests of the Afghan people. This revolution did not and could not affect the interests of our neighbours, nor of any other states, no matter how close to us.

Therefore, the absurd attempts to connect in any way the popular revolution in our country with the worsening of the international situation in our region are completely unfounded.

But for the undisguised attempts, in flagrant violation of international law, to deprive the Afghan people of their right to be the masters of their own country, no "Afghan issue" would have emerged. It was devised by the forces of reaction, imperialism and hegemonism who considered the sovereign choice of the people a menace to their mercenary interests.

That is why they have formed a united front against our revolution, their major objectives being interference in our internal affairs, the organizing the dispatching of armed bands to the territory of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and the arming and training of various counterrevolutionary forces in a futile attempt to check the natural course of events in Afghanistan.

One of the principal aims of these forces has been to undermine our republic's international positions and to discredit it internationally. That is the reason why the "Afghan issue" has been repeatedly and artificially inflated at various international forums, including the United Nations. The initiators of those notorious campaigns failed to attain their goals; they could not check the profound revolutionary and democratic transformation, nor could they undermine the republic's international prestige.

However, the nature of imperialism and reaction is such that they are unable to draw the right conclusions from their failures. On the contrary, they persist in their attitude, thereby worsening their own positions. That is why we still have to constantly confront their plans to destabilize the situation in Afghanistan, to expand the scale and diversify the forms of their interference in our internal affairs. At the same time, Afghanistan's enemies are trying to discredit the peaceful and independent foreign policy of the DRA, which has been and is today deeply rooted in the principles of non-alignment.

The enemies of the Afghan revolution and of the people of Afghanistan resort to various devious ruses, a major one being their attempts to completely distort the essence of our relations with the socialist countries, the Soviet Union in particular. No one in our country has tried to conceal the fact that we regard the relations with the Soviet Union, which are based on the principles of the respect for equality, independence and national sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, on the principles of comradely mutual aid and international solidarity, as a major precondition for the successful development of our independence and the consolidation of our state's international positions. Our history has convinced us that the Soviet Union is not only a good neighbour but also a true and reliable friend. Our countries are linked by long-standing ties of friendship, initiated by the great Lenin. And it was only natural that after the April Revolution these relations should continue to develop fruitfully and acquire a new and more profound dimension, thus meeting the interests of the two peoples and logically and historically reflecting the natural course of events.

In March 1981, Babrak Karmal, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA, Chairman of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the DRA, stressed that "the great friendship between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan has deep and traditional roots... At present, this traditional friendship has been elevated to a higher qualitative level, to fraternal relations, revolutionary solidarity and comprehensive cooperation".



Political, economic, scientific and technical, commercial, cultural and other ties between our states have been successfully developing over a long period of time. The Soviet Union continues to render all-round support and assistance to our country in various fields, doing this without any ulterior motives and on a just and mutually acceptable basis.

The legal basis of these relations is the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Cooperation of December 5, 1978, which has become an important milestone in Afghanistan's history. The Treaty is of special significance to us because it reliably serves the national interests. It is on the basis of this treaty that the Soviet Union renders extensive economic, and moral and political support to the just cause of our popular and democratic revolution. When the internal and external reactionaries became especially active and began resorting to direct armed intervention to overthrow the people's democratic regime, the Soviet Union sent a limited military contingent to Afghanistan at the request of our government, with the sole objective of helping the Afghan people and their armed forces repulse the external armed aggression and defend the country's independence and sovereignty.

The legitimacy of this act arises not only from the sovereign rights of Afghanistan and the treaty between our two countries, but from the generally recognized norms of international law, the UN Charter in particular. The right to self-defence, the right to appeal to friendly countries for help, is a self-evident right, and is recognized by all nations. However, in our case the imperialist and reactionary press, the Peking hegemonists and certain other quarters, who are either badly informed or completely ignorant of the situation in our country, have launched a strident campaign against both Afghanistan and the Soviet Union. They employed the so-called Afghan issue as a convenient pretext for aggravating the international situation and undermining detente.

However, as is well known, the heart of the matter is not the presence of the limited contingent of the Soviet troops in Afghanistan, but continuing acts of aggression and subversion against the people and government of our country. As was emphasized in the statement by the DRA and the USSR, signed in Moscow on October 16, 1980, the dates of the withdrawal of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan "can be considered in the context of a political settlement and not before the aggression against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has completely ceased and guarantees have been given that subversive activities from abroad against the Afghan people and their government will not be resumed".

At the 26th Congress of the CPSU, the Soviet Union once again unambiguously explained its stand on the issue. "As for the Soviet military contingent," said Leonid Brezhnev, "we will be prepared to withdraw it with the agreement of the Afghan government. Before this is done, the infiltration of counter-revolutionary gangs into Afghanistan must be completely stopped. This must be secured in accords between Afghanistan and its neighbours. Dependable guarantees are required that there will be no new intervention. Such is the fundamental position of the Soviet Union, and we adhere to it firmly."

The Soviet proposals concerning the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf area have generated interest all over the world. It is no secret, however, that the West has given a negative response to the Soviet proposals aimed at normalizing the situation which has emerged and become explosive due to the direct US interference and the military presence of the USA and its allies in the Persian Gulf. They are trying to link their naval build-up to the presence of the Soviet military con-



tingent in Afghanistan, though no such link does or can exist, in view of the fact that the US military build-up in the region started long before the limited contingent of Soviet troops was sent into Afghanistan.

The Soviet Union, in accordance with its consistent and constructive policy, stated that it was prepared to conduct talks on the Persian Gulf as a separate problem and that it was ready to participate in a separate settlement of the situation that had developed around Afghanistan. At the same time the Soviet government also confirmed that it did not object to discussing the problems related to Afghanistan together with the problems of security in the Persian Gulf, emphasizing that only the international aspects of the problem, and no internal affairs of Afghanistan, could be discussed. Afghanistan's sovereignty as well as its status as a non-aligned country must be fully protected.

The Afghan people and their government fully share this approach, believing it to be principled, just and realistic and in tune with the interests of universal peace and security in the Persian Gulf area. Such an approach is entirely in the national interests of the Afghan people, as it protects their sovereignty unreservedly.

The Afghan government is of the opinion that the withdrawal of the US naval force from the Persian Gulf and the dismantling of the US military bases in the region, as well as the cessation of intensified foreign military penetration of the Middle East will result in a radically improved situation in the region and will have a beneficial effect on the international situation in general.

The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan attaches special significance to the non-alignment movement to which it belongs. Pursuing its policy of non-alignment, our country, together with the other progressive members of the movement, is taking consistent and vigorous efforts to consolidate international peace and security, to solve the problem of disarmament so vital for the whole of mankind, to establish zones of peace and to dismantle foreign military bases and to put an end to various attempts at interference in the internal affairs of other states, and to establish a new economic order based on just and democratic principles. We have always backed every new step taken to solve these problems and, are doing everything in our power for their solutions.

Nevertheless, although we regard the non-alignment movement as a powerful and positive factor in current international relations capable of exerting considerable influence on the development of world politics, we are aware of its heterogeneity and of the frequent and significant differences of approaches of its members to specific problems. We also have to take into account the fact that individual member-countries of the movement fall, wittingly or unwittingly, under the influence of certain Western powers.

Our country advocates broad unity within the non-alignment movement on the basis of unremitting struggle against imperialism. It was this basis which became the starting point for the movement, and adherence to it has made the movement strong and effective. The movement has acquired great international prestige because of its anti-imperialist nature, and it can maintain and consolidate this prestige only through a consistent anti-imperialist policy. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has been pursuing this course within the movement and is proud of its contribution to the development of the movement's anti-imperialist nature.

Our country, which gained its freedom and independence after a hard and protracted struggle against colonialism, has always taken the side of peoples fighting for their national liberation. The victories of the national liberation movement strengthen the foundations of international peace and security by eradicating sources of potential conflicts. Life has shown that imperialists and reactionaries have used and continue to use the struggle of the peoples for their freedom as a pretext for fanning up the flames of international conflicts. Moreover, a concept has been advanced in the USA recently which essentially outlaws the national liberation movement and equates it with international terrorism.

We are resolutely opposed to such a concept and express our complete solidarity with and support for the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are fighting against imperialist, colonialist and neocolonialist exploitation. The Afghan people and their government resolutely support the struggle of the fraternal Arab peoples against Israeli aggression and occupation. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan unreservedly advocates the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem, and the exercise of the

inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, their right to national statehood in particular. We denounce in no uncertain terms the separate Camp David deals and the Egyptian-Israeli "treaty", which is essentially a betrayal of the interests of the Arab peoples and is impeding the peaceful settlement of the Middle East problem. We also express our solidarity with the people of South Africa who are opposing the inhuman regime of apartheid, and with the people of Namibia struggling against the occupation of their country by the Pretoria regime and demanding independence. Our country supports the valiant struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Chile and Bolivia suffering under the domination of reactionary fascist and militarist cliques. Both in the UN and at other international forums, the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strictly adheres to its fundamental policy of support for the struggle of peoples for their liberation.

In conducting its foreign policy, our country attaches great importance to the gamut of problems related to our ties with the neighbouring countries, Pakistan and Iran in particular. For many centuries, the peoples of Afghanistan, Iran and Pakistan have maintained traditional economic and cultural ties and their histories have much in common. In point of fact, there did not and do not exist any objective reasons dividing them, let alone provoking any hostility among them. They have every reason to live in peace, friendship and harmony. It is only the imperialist circles, guided by the old imperial precept of "divide and rule", that are interested in creating friction and conflicts among them.

Our country expresses its solidarity with the fraternal people of Pakistan who are fighting for democracy and social progress, and with the people of Iran defending their independence and sovereignty against the assaults of American imperialism which has still not abandoned its attempts to bring the Iranians to their knees. We advocate the development of our relations with these countries on the basis of the generally recognized norms of international law.

However, it is no secret that after the April Revolution the forces of international imperialism and reaction and the Peking hegemonists started to use the territories of these countries as their base for subversive activities against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. This of course seriously impaired relations between Afghanistan and these countries. In fact, no sovereign state will tolerate the infiltration from the territory of its neighbours of gangs of murderers that terrorize, kill, set

fire to schools and hospitals, and destroy the property of citizens, their principal objective being the overthrow of a regime installed by a popular revolution. The world is well aware of these subversive activities. The relevant facts were published by our government and brought to the knowledge of the United Nations.

Nevertheless, these activities still continue. Moreover, President Reagan stated officially that his administration will render military assistance to these bandits by supplying arms and helping train them, etc. This statement can only be viewed as another manifestation of flagrant US interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. The USA had earlier been the principal instigator of subversive activities against our country. It used every means possible and impossible to aggravate the situation which had developed around Afghanistan. The facts show that the new administration is no less active in this regard. Such a policy is fraught with grave consequences.

The military regime in Pakistan will not shirk its responsibility for acting against the wishes of the people and providing the country's territory for the organization of such acts of subversion perpetrated by mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has repeatedly stated its readiness and sincere desire to maintain normal and friendly relations with its neighbours. On May 14, 1980, it put forth wide-ranging constructive proposals on a political settlement of the situation centering around Afghanistan and the normalization of its relations with Pakistan and Iran. Those proposals, as is known, have generated wide international interest. The world regarded them as a reasonable and acceptable basis for the solution of the existing problems. Regrettably, the other parties failed to respond. Subsequent developments showed that our proposals retained their topicality. It follows that, as in the past, it is up to the other parties to respond.

The processes taking place in Afghanistan, particularly after the new stage of the April Revolution, are convincing proof of the growing support for the understanding that the popular power enjoys among the broad working masses and the country's population in general. A most telling example is the creation of a national patriotic front which will represent all strata of the population: trade-union members, democratic youth and women, and patriotic employees. The bodies of people's power are growing stronger, the economy is developing, the agrarian reforms and law and order are making headway, great progress has been made in the field of education, etc. This is irrefutable testimony to the irreversible nature of the revolutionary transformations in Afghanistan. This should be realized by the enemies of our revolution. The April Revolution, designed to build a new society, liquidate all vestiges of feudalism, carry out radical transformations in the interests of the workers and develop the national economy and culture and raise the people's well-being, is advancing successfully, despite the incessant attacks by its foes—imperialism, hegemonism and international reaction.

In his telegram addressed to the leaders of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the April Revolution's third anniversary, Babrak Karmal pointed out that "the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Revolutionary Council and the government of the Democratic Republic of

Afghanistan are pursuing and are determined in the future to firmly pursue in the international arena the positive policy of a peaceful non-aligned state, and resolutely come out for a political solution of the situation which has developed around Afghanistan as a result of conspiracies by the enemies of the April Revolution and the acts of aggression and overt interference by imperialism, hegemonism and reaction and their lackeys, and for a lasting peace and security in our region, in Asia and throughout the world".

At a time when our people were fighting for their freedom and independence, against British colonizers, Engels wrote that the Afghans were a brave, energetic and freedom-loving people. Today, when the Afghan people have become free—free to build their lives on a truly democratic basis, having obliterated the grim age-old legacy of the past, there must be no doubt that they will be capable of defending their freedom. And our foreign policy serves this noble goal.

CSO: 4600/135



WAR SEEN BLOCKING SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Havana VERDE OLIVO in Spanish 5 Jul 81 p 19

[Report on interview with Afghan Minister of Mines and Industries Esma'il Danesh by Armando Lopez Rivera: "Afghanistan Moves Forward"; date and place not specified]

[Text] "Agrarian reform, the struggle against illiteracy, and an increase in the living level of the people are some of the most important aspects of the revolutionary process in Afghanistan," stated Esma'il Danesh, minister of mines and industries, member of the Central Committee of the PDPA [Afghanistan People's Democratic Party] and of the Revolutionary Council of the Afghanistan Democratic Republic.

The Afghani official explained that the movement begun in his country on 27 April 1978 is a national-democratic, anti-imperialist, and antifeudal revolution which is advancing toward the building of socialism. He stated, "It is true that we do not have the material and technical bases for such a construction effort, but we will create them. It is also necessary to take into account the concrete conditions in our country, its history, the people's traditions, their beliefs and habits."

In answering a question on the prospects for his country and internationalist solidarity with the Afghan people he said: "Our country is rich in natural resources, and the people (there are almost 20 million inhabitants) are very hard-working and talented. We receive the support of all of the revolutionary forces of the world, especially that of the Soviet Union. Help from the USSR is fundamental for the success of the Afghan revolution. Without it we could not have safeguarded and maintained the territorial independence of the country and frustrated the aims of imperialism and other reactionary forces.

"The United States and China," he added, "are trying to halt the progress of the Afghan revolution. Both want to make the revolutionary government disappear and install a feudal regime once again. However, thanks to the solidarity displayed by the USSR and other socialist countries, the moral and political support of the revolutionary forces of the world, and thanks to the heroic Afghan people, the plans of the counterrevolutionaries have not succeeded. The revolutionary government remains in power and has complete control of the country. Of course, our enemies continue working on their plans to frustrate the process, but final victory will be ours."

Danesh referred to the aggressiveness of the Reagan administration against Afghanistan and described how "the undeclared war has been turned into a declaration of war." He pointed out that, "from its beginnings the Afghani revolution has been confronted with the hatred of international reaction and of Chinese hegemonism. Before the accession of Ronald Reagan to power the United States was hiding its intrigues against our country and the help which it was providing to seditious groups. It tried to do this in secret. It did not announce its military and economic help to the counterrevolutionary bands. Nor did it say that it had established training camps in Pakistan and Iran from which it infiltrated the enemies of the revolution.

"However, Reagan has openly admitted that he is helping and will continue providing military and financial assistance to the counterrevolutionaries," he said. He affirmed that with Reagan in office world imperialism and Chinese hegemonism are more aggressive than ever, not only in Afghanistan but also in the Middle East and the Indian Ocean, in the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. They are promoting the arms race and create obstacles to detente.

The Afghan minister of mines discussed some aspects of the socioeconomic changes which are being carried out in his country and stated that his government is giving special attention to the final stage of the agrarian reform, through the establishment of cooperatives, state farms, and the gradual mechanization of agriculture. The state sector of the economy is being strengthened, and an effort is being made to attract the middle class and domestic capitalists not connected with imperialism to participate in the industrialization of the country. A struggle is also being waged against the remnants of feudalism and for the liquidation of illiteracy, in order to create a new, revolutionary culture.

Finally, Danesh emphasized the importance of Soviet assistance in all sectors of national life: economic, military, technical, cultural, and social. "With Soviet aid," he said, "we have built factories, cattle farms, schools, and hospitals. Soviet doctors and nurses are taking care of the health of the Afghan people, and other specialists are contributing to the training of personnel in various technical areas."

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AFGHAN COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY BANDITS OPERATING IN IRAN

Kabul HAQIQAT-E ENQELAB-E SAWR in English 30 Jun 81 p 3

[Text] A great number of Afghan immigrants are living in Iran. Most of these immigrants are laborers who have been deceived by propaganda against the Afghan revolution and came to Iran, or who simply came to Iran in the past looking for work. Among them there are three counterrevolutionary groups operating at full force which were organized by imperialist spy organizations and international bands of smugglers and thieves.

Group One: These are counterrevolutionaries which play the role of imperialism's fifth column in Iran, and practically all of them "are active" under the cover of parties and "organizations that fugitive Afghan feudalists created on the orders of the CIA."

Group Two: These are smugglers who cooperate with the international smuggling network. This group, most of whom are nothing more than dupes, use the cover of so-called Afghan "rebel" parties. By the wide distribution of drugs in Iran they benefit the counterrevolution from the practical political standpoint, and also pour billions of dollars of profit into the pockets of international smuggling bands. These smugglers are involved in contraband ranging from cigarettes to drugs and weapons, and in reality they made up the main force of the smuggling bands.

Nowadays it is rare for news of the arrest of smugglers to be printed in the press and for those captured not to be Afghans.

According to a KEYHAN report, counterrevolutionary bands active among Afghan immigrants "stop at nothing, buying and selling drugs, smuggling various goods, committing theft, felony and rape, and in this way have created enormous difficulties for the people and officials." 12 April 1981

However, their basic activities fall into three categories: Carrying out the role of a fifth column for imperialism, various kinds of smuggling, the most important of which is drug smuggling, and large and small-scale theft. Each one of these activities often culminates in murder. A glance at the news of the past two months shows the extent of the activity of Afghan smugglers.

The KEYHAN newspaper reported on 1 March 1981 that a twelve-man band of Afghan smugglers, along with their leader, were arrested by the Revolution Guards in Esfahan. They had used a house in an area of Najafabad near Esfahan for their activities, operating under cover of a tailor shop. One kilogram of marijuana juice, several radios, a number of cassettes, cartridges, mens and womens wrist-watches, and 355 grams of heroin which had been hidden underground, were discovered and confiscated.

Several days later: "Following all-out unremitting efforts by the Strike Force Guards of the Mashad Central Komiteh of the Islamic Revolution during the past several days, and after an armed clash with three professional Afghan smugglers with long records which took place in the border strip near Torbat-e Jam, the Guards succeeded in seizing the quantity of 11 kilograms of pure heroin and in arresting the smugglers and turning them over to the Revolution Headquarters in Mashad." KEYHAN 4 April 1981.

This news had not yet been completely broadcast when another Afghan smuggling band was trapped: "In a violent armed clash between officials of units Four and Eight of the Municipal Bureau of the Anti-Drug Crusade and a group of smugglers which took place on the Tayebad border, two of the smugglers were wounded and 14.52 kilograms of heroin were seized by officials. Six heroin smugglers with long records who were Afghans were also arrested."

Then it was the turn of an Afghan smuggling band in Kerman to be arrested: "Kerman - Officials of the Anti-Drug Crusade of the Kerman Municipal Police confiscated 11 kilograms of opium residue and 1.15 kilograms of hashish from seven Afghan smugglers." ETTELA'AT 13 April 1981

Then again a band of Afghan smugglers was arrested a few days later [sic] in Mashad: Mashad - According to the report of the News Section of the Mashad Revolution Guards, on the morning of 1 April 1981, 56.3 kilograms of opium was confiscated from several Afghan smugglers by the brother Guards of Tayebad with the cooperation of officials from the Gendarmarie Guardstation of Qare-ye Neh.

Furthermore the Khorasan Municipality Public Relations Office announced that 1,726.5 grams of hashish and heroin were seized from two smugglers in Mashad. One of the smugglers was an Afghan. ETTELA'AT 13 April 1981

Ultimately the extent of the activities of Afghan smugglers reached such a height that three Afghan smugglers were executed by firing squad in Esfahan.

Group Three: Most of them are Afghans who have come to Iran under the cover of being "Afghan rebels," and while spreading propaganda that they came to Iran in order to "Struggle" against the revolutionary government of Afghanistan, they are busy with highway robbery, theft and murder! These "strugglers" in reality are struggling against the people and revolution of Iran.



# MUJAHEDIN REGISTER MORE SUCCESSES AGAINST INVADERS

## French, Italian Support

Karachi DAWN in English 9 Aug 81 p 4

[Text]

WASHINGTON, Aug 9: Afghan guerrillas have recently begun to "eliminate" supporters of the Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal regime and have distributed a list of 30 such "targets", according to a US State Department report released here yesterday.

The report, entitled "Afghanistan: 18 Months of Occupation," said that "these assassinations of supporters of the Afghan regime starkly underline the danger of collaboration" with the Soviet-backed Government.

"Although the Mujahedeen (guerrillas) cannot take and hold a major city, they have made life dangerous for Government supporters in all urban centres," the report said, noting that a religious leader and an Afghan General were killed by guerrillas in Kabul last month.

The guerrillas recently scored "important achievements" in their fight against "Soviet forces of occupation" and the Afghan Army, the report said, adding that Soviet forces had notably suffered a "serious defeat" last month in the Paghman mountains, just 15 km. (nine miles) northwest of Kabul.

"The Soviet authorities did not succeed in covering it up due to the heavy losses they sustained," the report added.

### FREE RADIO

In Rome, a group of Italian and French intellectuals are preparing to leave Rome to begin a mission of setting up a mobile radio network in the service of Afghan guerrilla forces battling the Soviet troops of occupation.

The idea of a Free Radio network for the Afghan guerrillas originated with Henri Bernard Levy, one of the major figures among

the new French philosophers, and was enthusiastically received by members of the Human Rights Committee, one of whom is Renzo Roccellini, President of the Italian movie studio Gaumont Italia and Managing Director of Citta Futura. Citta Futura was one of the first privately-owned radio stations to begin broadcasting in Rome.

Also Roccellini is getting ready to go to Afghanistan. He said here, according to Italian news agency 'ANSA', that he intends to make the trip "to set up the first transmitters and get into contact with thier guerilla forces".

Roccellini confidently predicted that "Afghanistan Free Radio will be a reality within a month".

On another topic, the Italian filmmaker said that "Soviet interference has been developed over the years at the political level and now military interference is being developed."

"One of these military instruments is provocation, association and infiltration and for this reason I am convinced that behind the terrorist phenomena in Italy there is the direct involvement of the Soviet Union", he said.

### FIGHTING IN HERAT

Meanwhile, fierce fighting has been continuing in Herat Province for the last 20 days and the contending forces have suffered heavy losses.

In the bloody encounters the known commander of Jamiat-Islami Afghanistan, Abdul Aziz Khan, along with other 10 Mujahids was martyred. The losses caused to the other side could not be ascertained. According to latest reports, the freedom fighters conducted raids on Government

installations and points of strategic importance in Herat city and other places in the province even on the day of Eid-ul-Fitr.

According to the details of the encounters taking place in the second fortnight of July, the Mujahideen killed 10 rival soldiers and wounded another 20 in the fighting in Injeel sub-division on July 13 continuing for 12 long hours. One Mujahid was martyred and 6 others were injured.

The Jamiat-e-Islami guerillas were encircled at Aab-e-Sultan near Herat city. The Mujahideen succeeded in breaking the siege and they escaped before reinforcement by a helicopter. Aab-e-Sultan was besieged and attempt was made to loot the wheat stores there which were set on fire by the residents. The locality was then shelled by helicopters and tanks as a result of which two girls were killed and a large number of people were wounded.

On July 21, Jamiat freedom-fighters launched a night attack on the police station of Rani Gate in Herat and killed two persons including an officer. A soldier joined the Mujahideen and brought his Kalashnikov and a wireless set with him. The same day a nearby village of Herat Rahanandgan was attacked by the Government forces killing six people. The Mujahideen made a counter-attack and killed 21 persons and destroyed an armoured vehicle.

The Mujahideen waylaid a convoy moving on the Kabul-Herat road and captured a Soviet and Afghan officer who were later sentenced to death by an Islamic court.

On July 26, the Mujahideen's position in Sub-division Bakwah in Herat Province were shelled through helicopters. Six Mujahids were martyred. The Mujahideen

shot down a helicopter at the place. On July 28, the Mujahideen destroyed a truck in the Lash Jeeven sub-division of the province. Thirty people aboard were killed in the fire exchange, six Mujahids were wounded, who later expired.

On July 29, the police post of Kandahar Darwaza in Herat city was destroyed in an operation led by commander Fazal Ahmad. Three Afghan soldiers escaped while 13 were killed. A Parchami was captured and awarded the death sentence.—AFP/AAP.

### Soviets Admit Losses

Karachi DAWN in English 10 Aug 81 p 4

[Text] ISLAMABAD, Aug 8: The Kabul correspondent of the leading Soviet daily 'Pravda' has admitted that Afghan Mujahideen have lately stepped up their "terrorist" activities in the south-west of the country. A prominent local politician Hujja Malik was shot dead in Kindagon.

The daily claimed that several 'terrorist' groups have been surrounded and wiped out in the area.

Meanwhile, the Afghan Mujahideen are reported to have intensified their resistance against Russian and Karmal forces in Nangarhar, Badakhshan and Faryab provinces in spite of the fact that they are in combat with sophisticated weaponry. Their traditional bravery and courage are their best arms in the battle fields.

According to sources close to a prominent Afghan religious leader, Pir Syed Aale Muqtadir Gilani, the Mujahideen have inflicted heavy loss and casualties on the Russian invading forces and Karmal regime agents during different operations in Paktia, Nangarhar and Kunar provinces on Eid and the day after Eid.

In these ambush attacks the number in Paktia, Nangarhar and Kunar provinces on Eid and the day after Eid.

in these ambush attacks the number of casualties in these three places was estimated at over 150 troops which also included between twentyfive to thirty Russians, four heavy tanks and even number of mortars and thirty military transport vehicles. Russian made automatic rifles and sub-machine guns seized by the Mujahideen were numbered over a hundred.

The Mujahideen also attacked a military hospital established for the Russians in Badakhshan and at an armoury and ammunition centre in Ghazni.

The hospital and a power house were blown up while a major portion of the arms depot was destroyed. The Mujahideen also captured two military jeeps loaded with dozens of rifles highly powerful hand-grenades and weapons that are used in guerilla operations. The Mujahideen also seized alive fifty of the Russian advisers and Afghan soldiers.

Prominent Afghan leaders entering D. I. Khan through North and South Waziristan told 'PPI' that the intensified activities of the Mujahideen have caused further shrinkage of Karmal's administrative control over the urban areas of the country. They said that Mr Karmal's military convoy

could not move in the night although they were using brutal tactics to crush guerilla activities.

Hill track residents in Afghanistan are bombarded by air and shelled by helicopters indiscriminately wherever they see guerilla activity.

They also use of gas bombs similar to napalm bombs and massacre of children and women in ambiguity it may be recalled that the Afghan refugees concentrations in D. I. Khan is highest after Peshawar.

PAPER COMMENTS ON OTTAWA SUMMIT'S INTERFERENCE

BK171631 Kabul NEW TIMES in English 30 Jul 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Attempts to Meddle in DRA's Internal Affairs Doomed to Failure"]

[Text] The statement issued the other day by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan denouncing the bid of the "seven" Western capitalist countries to interfere in the DRA's affairs was the expression of the right and firm stand and will of the party, government and people of Afghanistan to forge ahead with the progressive policy adopted for the good of the Afghan people.

The attempt of the imperialist countries headed by the United States of America to interfere in the internal affairs of the free and revolutionary Afghanistan is fanning up the intensity of the tension of the situation in our region.

The head of the seven Western states and governments which met in Ottawa some time ago made another attempt to exploit the world situation in their imperialist interest and thus get their political and economic designs implemented in different parts of the world.

In discussing world problems they expressed concern over the situation developing around Afghanistan and showed "sympathy" with the Afghans. This is in fact part of the scheming plot of the imperialists to prepare further ground for their intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan described the declaration of the seven capitalist Western countries to "support the international effort to restore to the Afghan people their rights to determine their own future" as an open and crude violation of the elementary norms of international law and the UN charter's basic principles.

The reference made in the final declaration of the summit of seven major Western countries was in effect the continuation of the policy of imperialist states adopted against the party, the government and people of Afghanistan ever since the victory of SAWR revolution staged by the majority of the toiling and industrious people of Afghanistan. Since then imperialists have made many attempts to flagrantly interfere in the internal affairs of the free and independent Afghanistan. These attempts are clearly aimed at toppling the rule of working class in Afghanistan and bringing back into power the feudal lords and exploitative elements to directly serve the interests of imperialists and colonialists.

It is almost 3 years that the imperialists, hegemonists and reactionary forces have been carrying out subversive activities and terroristic acts within the land of free Afghanistan killing the innocent people including children, women and old people. They want to sow discord among the people and create a gap between the party, government and the people of Afghanistan.

Upon assuming power President Ronald Reagan of the United States openly announced that his government would deliver arms and ammunition to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries contrary to the principles of the United Nations charter. Now the whole world fully realises that a large quantity of arms and deadly weapons are supplied to the Afghan counterrevolutionaries who make every effort to disrupt normal life inside the country and create panic among the people. A large quantity of these arms which have the markings of the manufacturing of U.S., Britain, Egypt, China and Pakistan have been captured now and then from the terrorists and bandits sent into Afghanistan and put on display for public attention.

These and many others are the clear manifestation of the attempts of the imperialist countries and world reaction to interfere in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. It was the flagrant violation of the principle of "noninterference in the internal affairs of other states" as guaranteed by charter of the United Nations, and the armed aggression from outside which made the legal government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan request its great northern neighbour, the Soviet Union, to send its limited military contingents to Afghanistan to safeguard the national independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan on the basis of the friendship, good neighbourliness and cooperation treaty signed between the DRA and USSR.

The government of Afghanistan has been pursuing a policy of peaceful coexistence with all countries especially its neighbours. To normalise its relations with Iran and Pakistan the DRA Government took peace initiatives more than 1 year ago on 14 May 1980 and invited the governments of Iran and Pakistan to have talks separately with DRA Government in a bid to solve and iron out their differences and lead a peaceful life side by side with one another. No positive response has been received to the proposal made by the DRA Government. On the contrary Pakistan is enormously arming itself with the U.S. weapons and continuing its efforts to send armed bandits and mercenaries into Afghanistan.

The government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan still adheres to its peace initiatives and proposals to normalise relations with Iran and Pakistan but will never allow any other country to interfere in DRA's internal affairs and serve the interest of imperialism and colonialism in this part of the world.

CSO: 4600/140



AFGHANISTAN

NEW WAVE OF VIOLENCE IN KABUL

TA141548 London BBC World Service in English 1500 GMT 14 Aug 81

[From: "Radio Newsreel"]

[Text] There are reports from Afghanistan which suggest a new wave of violence in the capital Kabul in the past few days. The reports from sources in Kabul which have proved reliable in the past say there has been a sudden rise in guerrilla activity resulting in a number of deaths. Satish Jacob in Delhi has been studying these latest accounts from Kabul:

[Begin Jacob recording] In the past 4 days as many as 20 people including an army brigadier and a senior official in the Ministry of the Interior has been assassinated. The brigadier was gunned down near his residence in the heart of the city on Sunday by two assailants who escaped in a taxi. The official who was in charge of political affairs in the Ministry of the Interior was shot and killed while driving home after work at a busy intersection. His assailants, too, escaped in a taxi. The sources said that Kabul had been more or less incident free, probably because both the opponents and supporters of the Soviet backed regime of President Babrak Karmal was busy with 'Id celebrations, the 'Id celebrations at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. But violence suddenly erupted after the Friday prayers last week. That evening, Muslim rebels attacked a party center in the army [word indistinct] of Khayrkhana, killing at least seven members of the party militia. Following these attacks, security in Kabul has been tightened and for the first time day patrolling (?has been) introduced. There are guards posted everywhere who also carry out house searches. The sources said that guards were stopping especially young people in the street to check their identity cards. [End recording]

CSO: 4600/140

## AFGHANISTAN

### EX-OFFICIAL COMMENTS ON GOVERNORS COMPLAINTS

BK160956 Hong Kong AFP in English 0935 GMT 16 Aug 81

[Text] Islamabad, 16 Aug (AFP)--The majority of Afghanistan's 29 provincial governors admit that Muslim rebels predominate in their regions, according to a senior civil servant who has fled here.

Gulam Hussain Safi, the Western-educated 49-year-old director of the "Central Guiding Office for Local Government Authorities" was still at his post on 1 July.

He told how in June he attended a meeting of governors in Kabul and they complained bitterly of the feeble power given to them by the government.

Several of them told Mr Safi: "We have no money, and our budget allowances are on paper only and we never get anything. We cannot even pay the salaries of our police."

Mr Safi recalled that the governor of Parwan (northern Afghanistan) told the meeting, attended by three ministers and Soviet advisers, that "he could not contact Kabul even though he is only 63 kms (37 miles) away because the telephone had been cut by the rebels and he did not have a radio transmitter in working condition."

"He could not even visit local authorities in his province because the rebels held all the roads leading from his capital, Sharikar."

The governor of Baghlan Province also admitted that most of his roads were held by rebels, while the governor of Nimroz regretted that the one source of pure drinking water for his capital, Zaraj, was held by rebels.

Mr Safi said that the ministers replied: "All you have to do is to dig a new well."

The governor of Nimroz also complained that the "ashrar" (rebels) were able to decode messages sent to him by the Kabul government.

The governor of Takar said that he had received permission to launch a mopping-up operation "but 5 days after our troops had left the region, the rebels had returned."

Salahuddin Otak, governor of the province of Konar which borders on Pakistan, was the most critical of the central government while at the same time requesting more Soviet troops.

"We have nothing--no arms, ammunition, money or personnel. Even for one pound of tea we have to get from Asadabad, capital of Konar, to the neighbouring capital of Jalalabad."

At the end of the meeting Colonel Sher Jan Mazduryar, transport minister, admitted there was insecurity on many roads.

But another minister told the governors that "revolutions always have these kinds of problems, which the imperialists try to exploit. We have only a limited budget and we can do nothing to help you. You ought to share some of our problems."

Mr Safi said that his office, which came directly under the prime minister, was created in June 1980 to reduce the powers of Interior Minister Sayyed Golabzoy, a member of the Khalq (people) faction of the Communist Party which is a rival of the Parcham (flag) faction led by President Babrak Karmal.

Mr Safi, a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley, said he would have been able to go on working under a Marxist regime but he could not stand for the "increasing domination of Soviet advisers."

He said: "Recently the deputy attorney-general of Kabul, Abdul Bashiq Wasiq, who is also head of the ruling Revolutionary Council's secretariat, threw a Soviet adviser out of his office because he had entered without knocking.

Two hours later Mr Wasiq was dismissed from both his posts."

CSO: 4600/140

## AFGHANISTAN

### KABUL SECURITY DISTRICTS ESTABLISHED AFTER ALERT

BK191245 Hong Kong AFP in English 0956 GMT 19 Aug 81

[Text] New Delhi, 19 Aug (AFP)--The Afghan capital has been divided into 11 distinct districts to effectively counter the increasing activities of Moslem rebels fighting the Soviet-backed Babrak Karmal regime, Western diplomatic sources said here today.

Better municipal work was given as an official explanation for the division by the Kabul mayor, Adina Sangeen.

Each of the districts will have a security chief with an unspecified but substantial number of soldiers under his command. All but one district touches the center of the city which would make security measures easier, the sources here said.

The city witnessed a 5-day security alert beginning 11 August during which Afghan troops aided by ruling Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) members searched houses, stopped vehicles and arrested a number of suspected rebels.

The arrest claim was prominently published in the state-owned NEW KABUL TIMES on 15 August. The newspaper said that the security forces had unearthed and neutralised a ring of antinational forces in the city. Observers here said that most of the arrested rebels belonged to the pro-Beijing Sama rebel group. City residents woke up on 11 August to see soldiers swarming over the streets, stopping vehicles and issuing commands through wireless fitted jeeps.

There were systematic searches of suspected neighbourhoods. The following day Kabul International Airport was closed for several hours.

The sources here, quoting diplomatic observers in Kabul said that the airport was closed as the authorities wanted no foreign overflight during the period.

The security alert gave rise to several rumours, one of which was that Afghan soldiers in a nearby army garrison had clashed with Soviet troops.

In spite of the security alert, the city continued to witness killings of pro-regime people. Eight members of the Kabul public prosecutors offices were shot dead during the period, and one or two known party members were also killed daily for three successive days beginning 11 August.

CSO: 4600/140



## AFGHANISTAN

### BRIEFS

TELEGRAMS FROM CASTRO, REDDY--Kabul, 19 Aug (BAKHTAR)--A congratulatory telegram on the occasion of the 62nd anniversary of regaining of Afghanistan's independence by Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, chairman of the State Council and head of the Cuban Government, addressed to Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and president of Revolutionary Council of the DRA, was received here. Expressing solidarity with the people of Afghanistan in their struggle in defence of their real reaction the telegram wishes further development of friendly relations between the DRA and the Republic of Cuba. A similar telegram has been received from Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, president of the Republic of India, in which hope is expressed for the continuation and development of existing relations between the peoples of our countries. [Text] [LD202150 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0418 GMT 20 Aug 81]

CSO: 4600/140

RAJAVI DISCUSSES SIGNIFICANT ISSUES IN BBC INTERVIEW

Tehran ETTELA'AT in Persian 4 Aug 81 p 16

[Interview with Mas'ud Rajavi]

[Text ] Question: Mr Rajavi, would you tell us at the suggestion of who or which organization did you leave Iran?

Answer: In the name of God and the heroic people of Iran, I submit that after it established widespread terror, Khomeyni's regime proved over the last two years that it cannot tolerate any opposition. The chimera has gone to his head that he is possibly God's chosen one. His far-reaching rule of terror could not as much as tolerate the distribution of leaflets and would not even relent in the case of 12-year-old children and pregnant women who had undemonstrated feelings against the regime. As we know President Eani-Sadr has issued me an order of appointment under which I have been given two responsibilities. One to organize the National Resistance Council, and second, as a next step, to set up a committee for administering the country. Particularly after the execution of our brother, Mohammad Reza Se'adati--who had been convicted to imprisonment but even that did not appease Khomeyni--the conclusion reached by the Resistance Council and the Mojahedin Organization was that they should get us temporarily out of the country for the sake of the security of the Resistance Council and of the two of us and also for the purpose of having the message of the oppression and rightfulness of the people of Iran heard by the world.

Question: Would your exit from the country not undermine your personal leadership and diminish the impact of the Mojahedin on the political events?

Answer: As we have no ambitious motives nor a claim to leadership, we believe that whatever is done in the service of the revolution and the movement would in fact make all our people happy and drive them forward. As you know our revolutionary bretheren and the populist personnel of the army, too, gave very valuable assistance in this respect. One of our secret members in the Army is Colonel Behzad Mo'ezi who is the most senior and outstanding Iranian pilot. According to a plan that we had prepared in advance, we arranged to bring Mr Bani-Sadr along, also, with Mo'ezi's own plane.

Question: The Iranian government charges that your organization has been responsible for the explosion at the headquarters of the Islamic Republican Party? What is your response?

Answer: I should say that the Iranian government is usually given to leveling various accusations against us. Khomeyni, like the Shah, calls us Islamic Marxists, spies, terrorists, anarchists, and the like. Recently, the Khomeyni government has even been mindless of the fact that one cannot be accused of spying for America and the Soviet Union at the same time. Perhaps tomorrow he will accuse us of being mercenaries for the French. These do not matter. What matters is the Iranian Revolution and our ideology which is Islam and which shall move on.

Question: Then, you deny that in connection with the said explosion you had.....

Answer: I must say that resistance is very widespread in Iran. As security considerations were prohibitive and as I was not in one place to be able to receive regular information, I have not had a report on this matter from my brothers. But I can tell you this much that all the acts of resistance are deeply rooted in popular support.

Question: Do you believe that Iran's political problems and difficulties could be solved by violence and explosions?

Answer: They cannot be solved in this way. In fact these are imposed on our people by Khomeyni's terrorism. It is the expression of our people's resistance to it..... Khomeyni has left no other outlet for this expression. As you know, the newspapers have been shut down and no parties except the government-appointed ones have the right to be active.

Question: Do you think that you can run the country better than the Islamic Republican Party does?

Answer: I have no such illusion. Since we do not wish to use dictatorial and anti-popular policies with the force of clubs and bullet rounds, we could at least perceive the problems of the people and try to work for their solutions, with the participation of the people themselves. I am sure our response would not include the use of clubs.

Question: Generally speaking, how would the government you have in mind be evaluated from the viewpoints of individual freedoms and economic policies?

Answer: Well, before Dr Bani-Sadr, the President, issued this order to me--as you know he stayed in my house in the heart of Tehran all the time--we had a long talk about what our desired government should be like. The sum total of these discussions and their conclusions have been expressed in the Covenant of Iran's Freedom and Independence which has been composed by himself and sponsored by us.

Question: Would you please tell us what role will the other parties have in Iran once you gain power?

Answer: We shall not have any political prisoners nor shall we execute anybody on political charges under any circumstances. As is called for in the spirit of Islam and as you have certainly heard and seen in the words of Ayatollah Taleqani, we shall aspire to the spirit of liberalism, brotherhood and goodness and work against all practices of censorship, oppression and unjust encounters.

Question: Would you please tell us what is your view of the religious leaders in general?

Answer: I must say that the Khomeyni regime tries, by willful misrepresentation, to pass as the exponent of the Iranian clergy. To us, this is not so at all. The gang of criminals whose hands are smeared with blood up to their elbow and who abet Khomeyni, is a very small minority among the majority of the clergy of Iran. The Iranian clergy have all been on the side of the disinherited and struggling people of Iran throughout the clerical history. The Iranian clerics have never brandished their clubs and knives on the people. That is why our relationships with the clergy is not all-embracing [sic]. Many of them are now in jail. Master 'Ali Tehrani, too, is now in prison. I have also heard it said that Hojjatoleslam Ashvvari is in Evin Prison and his execution has reportedly been ordered. You know well the story of the late Father Ayatollah Taleqani. You know better than I do that Ayatollah 'Alami is in hiding. I am glad that the regime has not yet managed to catch these people. Like the question of the revolution and what Islam is, the question of the clergy is separate from Khomeyni's regime.

Question: Would you please state your view of the army and the revolutionary guards corps?

Answer: As our brother, Col Mo'ezi, one of the prominent examples of the military, showed, the army is full of populist and revolutionary persons. With a democratic spirit the military would really like to move toward liberty and independence. I am very happy about this. I must congratulate the Iranian people that many of their children in the army are capable of utmost valor. As regards the revolutionary guards corps, I am afraid it is composed of misled, uninformed and very low-level elements who have been deceived by Khomeyni and whose leadership is totally reactionary and anti-popular. As you know, this corps bears the responsibility of most of the tortures in prisons. I take this opportunity to warn them, particularly the administrators of the tortures, that the Iranian nation will settle with them unless they desist from their doings.

Question: You sound to be highly optimistic about the future. Would you please tell us the reason for your optimism?

Answer: The reason is that Dr Bani-Sadr and we and, basically speaking the progressive, democratic and truly devout and committed forces in Iran, collectively, form the near-majority, what seems to be over 80 percent of the population. You will see that Khomeyni's regime will not manage to continue its evil and anti-Islamic life for more than a while or at most a few months. Our people will certainly attain independence and freedom soon.

Question: One of the vague aspects of the Mojahedin's policy concerns the Soviet Union and the issue of the occupation of Afghanistan. The Mojahedin have never presented a clear and stable view so that many of your critics accuse you of being affiliated with the Soviets. What is your opinion about this?

Answer: This is another of those dubious charges. We only seek independence. Independence is not a mono-facted problem. I regret that our viewpoints on Afghanistan have not been made known to you. That has been printed in our publication in detail. No, we were against that kind of interference with the problem



of Afghanistan, despite the fact that there are reactionary instigations in Afghanistan. Unfortunately, there is no opportunity now to expound our views in detail. However, you can refer to our last year's publication. At any rate, I would tell you that it is not so at all. We are strugglers in the cause of the independence and freedom of our country. I believe that no campaign can be meaningful if independence is excluded from it. Independence is our prime objective.

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CSO: 4640/75

TUDEH OFFICIAL CLAIMS BANI-SADR, RAJAVI 'DOOMED TO FAILURE'

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 3 Aug 81 p 2

[Article: "Banisadr, Rajavi Should Be Locked in Psychiatric Hospital"]

[Text]

TEHRAN (AFP) -- Ousted president Abolhassan Bani-sadr and People's Mujahedin chief Masoud Rajavi should be "locked up together in a psychiatric hospital," according to Nureddin Kianouri, general secretary of Iran's Tudeh Communist Party.

The Banisadr-Rajavi alliance -- aimed at forming a national resistance council against the Islamic government is "doomed to failure," Kianouri said recently in an exclusive interview.

"Banisadr is a traitor, with a mental illness that is politically very dangerous," Kianouri asserted. "He is incredibly egocentric and believes he is the greatest thinker of the century."

The Communist leader claimed fidelity to the line of Imam Khomeini. "Revolutionaries of the entire world do not care what the bourgeois world thinks" about the 250 executions of the internal imperialist agents since June 20, Kianouri said.

"The leaders of the counter-revolutionary groups are murderers and they deserve the death penalty," he said. But Iranian young people "disturbed by the Mujahedins' propa-

ganda" should be allowed to "correct themselves."

"These youths have committed social crimes in supporting imperialism," he said, and "they should be re-educated in work camps."

The Iranian Communists have strongly supported the religious regime despite measures putting them in the political opposition and banning their newspaper, Mardom (The People).

"We supported Prime Minister (Mohammad) Ali Rajai in the presidential election because he was the universal candidate of all Iranian anti-imperialist forces," Kianouri said. "The orientations of revolutionary Islam coincide with the Communist program."

Questioned about the unlikely agreement of a Communist Party with a religious group, Kianouri said: "In the Shi'ite (Moslem) religion, it is very difficult to envisage despotism through personal power or fascism."

"We will support the Islamic Republic, as long as it follows its present orientation as anti-imperialist, anti-despotic, in favor of the oppressed masses," he said.

Kianouri said he did not know how many people were members in the Tudeh, but, he said, it has "political influence

that is growing every day."

The group should soon be given the right to hold meetings, he added.

Kianouri acknowledged that one faction of the Islamic Republic Party wanted to ban the Communists, but added that many other clergy agreed that non-violent left-wing groups could participate actively in politics, "according to the line defined by Imam Khomeini."

The Communist Leader showed similar optimism about Iran's foreign policies, saying he was happy to note "the progress of a tendency to normalize relations with Socialist countries."

He said that tendency illustrated the "neither East nor West" policies of the Islamic Revolution, which led authorities to "limit outside trade with the West to develop it with Socialist and Third-World countries."

But the Tudeh still is a semi-clandestine party, which was able to surface publicly only once when Kianouri participated in a televised debate more than a month ago.

Even the AFP interview had to be conducted secretly, at an address that was divulged at the last minute. Kianouri said this was because of death threats received from the People's Mujahedin.

# IRAN NATIONAL STEEL CO. SHIFTS TO ISFAHAN

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Aug 81 pp 2, 3

[Text]

ISFAHAN (Pars) - "The central office of the Iran National Steel Company will be shifted to Isfahan in a near future," revealed the Governor-General of the province of Isfahan. Esmail Davoudi in a press conference yesterday.

According to a circular, announced in the concerned offices in Tehran, the Governor-General declared the employees of the Iran National Steel Company are obliged to report to the Central Office in Isfahan within a period of one month.

He said that Dr. Sadr was introduced as the Managing Director of the company during visit of the State Minister and the supervisor of the INSC to this province."

Davoudi pointed out the transfer of the Central Office to Isfahan according to the approval of the Revolutionary Council, adding that "the employees were being transferred to this province due to the vast activities of the steel mill and transfer of the Steel Mill of Bandarabbas to this region and establishment of the gas steel mill complexes in the Mobarakeh region of Isfahan, so that the shifting of the employees will remove half the problems in this important issue.

The transfer of the employees to Isfahan was supposed to be carried out to the end of the Shahrivar of 1359 but some of the problems, comprising the war issue, economical sanction resulted in delay on this important affair.

Talking about the accommodation facility, he said that measures were taken to provide the indigent facilities for the employees in the area but the Fula Hotel would temporarily extend its accommodation facilities for settlement of the workers.

To achieve the goal of self-sufficiency, Davoudi stated that "the establishment of the steel complexes in the Mobarakeh region of this province which a gas-burn steel mill system, will provide the necessary background for self-sufficiency in the steel industry."

He disclosed the expenditure of the project as a sum of Rls. 400 billion with an annual production of 2.5 million tons of various iron products," estimating the feasibility of the steel mill for the next three or four years.

The Mathalogy Academy has been busy training apprentices for the steel industry and the related measures."

During the press conference, the Governor-General also talked about the shortage of schools in the area, saying that "procurement of the schools for 60,000 school children in this province should be executed only by accelerating the completion of those schools for which the construction measures are in progress. To carry out this vital issue we will allocate all the completion materials throughout the city of Isfahan for completion of semi-built schools for a week."

Indicating to the recent political currents in the country such as assassination attempts on the life of the top-ranking personalities throughout the country said that "during a series of sessions with the cooperation of the Islamic Revolutionary Guards Corps (IRGC), Mobilization and the disciplinary forces, we decided in creating some special headquarters in Isfahan, so the training of some of personnel was started who will be take their responsibility in Isfahan in a near future."

He concluded by saying that "we hope the Revolutionary Courts and the judiciary officials will carry out their responsibility with more decisiveness."

PAPER DEMANDS 'MORE DECISIVE MEASURES' AGAINST TERRORISM

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 6 Aug 81 pp 1, 4

[Article by Seyyed Husen Musavian]

[Text] In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful.

The abortive assassination attempts on the lives of Ayatollah Mahdavi Kani, the Minister of Interior, and brother Zavvarei, the Deputy Minister of Interior on 13th Mordad (August 4th, 1981), and the unjustifiable assassination (martyrdom) of Dr Hassan Ayat, the Majlis deputy of Tehran, along with the disastrous bomb blast in Azadi Square in Kermanshah, followed by the martyrdom of 15 innocent Moslems and the recent explosion in front of the Pasteur Hospital in Tehran, resulting in the martyrdom of some other innocent individuals, testify to the fact that an extensive wave of terror and explosions has vibrated throughout Iran.

After the dismissal of the fugitive, Banisadr from the post of presidency, drastic alterations which occurred in the Middle East region were quite evident and surprising to the researchers of the current issues of this region. The critical condition of the Middle East region which was further intensified by the imminent Syrian-Israeli war and the successive air raids upon the South of Lebanon, had attracted the attention of the nations all over the world. Though, all of a sudden, the hectic preoccupation with the Middle East, critical issues was no longer a matter of serious concern. However, the alarming wave of recurrent bomb blasts and assassination bids vibrated all over Iran. Still, such an expansive boom of Terrorism had been already anticipated by the provocative Western mass media as well as the notorious CIA mercenaries, Rajavi and Banisadr. Still, the abrupt wave of terroristic activities has been further aggravated after the triumphant election of Mohammadali Rajai as the President of the Islamic regime on account of 13 million votes.

Right after the consolidation of a consistent Islamic government, the expansionist U.S. became purely apprehensive of its inevitable political doom. In consequence, the imperialist U.S. victimized Iran with an abrupt wave of terrorism and extensive sabotage. In terms of a letter, published in "TEHRAN TIMES" (Vol. III, No. 22) on July 8, 1981, we divulged a clandestine conspiracy, betrayed by an unanimous reliable source as the committed supporter of the Islamic Revolution who has penetrated through the CIA. In one part of the aforementioned letter, it was



confirmed that the American officials had trained various saboteurs in Egypt, West Germany and China and later dispatched them to Iran to instigate the reign of terror. It is significant to note that Iran has been free from sporadic explosions and frequent assassination attempts during the presidential term of ousted Banisadr.

In pursuit of its clandestine plots for a coup d'etat, the belligerent U.S. adopts the treacherous policy of savage terrorism associated with sporadic bomb blasts and frequent assassination attempts whereby the intimidated, disenfranchised nations would be obliged to surrender to the dominations of terrorists. However, the Islamic Republic of Iran is an exception to this treacherous rule, since the U.S. has misconceived the unique cultural values of the Islamic Revolution and the Moslem Iranian nation. The successive defeats of the U.S. in contriving collusions against Iran, further substantiates this conviction. Still, we are not motivated to address the American elements and the Zionist terrorists. After all, they will just accelerate their political doom through criminal actions and anti-human policies.

However, we are determined to warn the authorities of the Islamic government to adopt more decisive measures in preserving their security. Why do you not grant top priority to the security measures? Why do you not consider your security more seriously? Why do you not grant any value for your life as an indispensable asset to the prosperity of Islam? You should be alarmed that international Terrorism has launched hostile attacks on the Islamic Republic regime so as to annihilate Islamic values. Still, the U.S. cherishes the misconception that widespread assaillancy, along with brutal crimes, will accomplish its avaricious objectives. You will be held responsible if you fail to employ decisive precautionary measures for the consolidation of security and the detection of the criminal agents of the U.S. Likewise, you will be held responsible in the eyes of the impoverished nations dominated by the East and the West.

The crucial issue is not focused on the preservation of my life or yours, since the prosperity of Islam takes precedence over such trivial concerns. If you just call for further assistance in this respect, millions of committed Moslems will diligently volunteer to safeguard the lives of the devout Moslem authorities of the Islamic Government, along with the administrative officials of the Revolutionary Institutions. You should be aware of the fact that the public is looking forward to your urgent demand for an antagonistic confrontation with the saboteurs and terrorists. The closure of Tehran's Bazaar signifies the public protest to the lack of determination for a hostile opposition to the Zionist elements. Once again, we warn you against neglecting the profound potential of the nation to overcome any considerable obstruction.

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BIOGRAPHY OF NEW WIR CHIEF MOHAMMED HASHEMI

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Aug 81 pp 2, 3

[Text] Tehran, (Pars)--Mohammad Hashemi Rafsanjani was born into a religious family in 1942 in Behouman village of Rafsanjan. He finished his elementary school in the same village, and left for Qom in 1957, where he started to study religious sciences in the Feiziyeh Theological School, while going to high school at nights. It was in that period that he went to meetings organized by his brother Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani (the present Majlis Speaker) and Dr Bahonar (new prime minister) where he got to know the ruling system and decided to oppose it.

He later went to Tehran, and while pursuing his nightly studies, he started his political activities by distributing political papers in the year 1962, when Imam Khomeini started his political struggle against the regime. This caused him to be arrested and shortly imprisoned by the regime in 1963.

In 1966 he received his high school diploma in mathematics and was employed as a simple clerk in the Sharif Industrial College. In 1969 he left for the United States to continue his education where he received his M.A. degree in economical management. While residing in the U.S. and acquainting with active Moslem students he attended the lecture sessions of martyred Dr Mostafa Chamran. He became a member of the Islamic Association, established by Dr Chamran and other brothers, and published the paper "The Clergy and 15th of Khordad" with the cooperation of other members of the Association.

Meanwhile, he was in contact with martyred Dr Beheshti. With the cooperation of other brothers he also organized the first seminar of Islamic Societies under the name of "Islamic Economic." As one of the members he took a trip around the U.S. spotting dedicated and interested volunteers for publicity works inside Iran. He returned to Iran in 1974, going back to the United States after meeting many people and consulting with friends.

When the Imam went to Paris, he joined him, later came to Tehran, along with Imam.

In November 1979 he became a member of the managing board of the Central Organization for Rural Cooperation and later became the administrative and financial deputy of the Ministry of Agriculture. In 1980 he became deputy prime minister and political advisor in the cabinet of brother Rajai. He held this post until he was given the new post. He became a member of IRP's central cadre from the first days that the party was established. He is also in charge of the Party's Foreign Affairs Relations. He married after the Revolution and now has a child.

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BRIEFS

RAJA'I THANKS BREZHNEV--According to the Central News Unit, the following telegram was sent by President Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, to the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, Moscow: In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful. Your Excellency Leonid Brezhnev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. I wish to thank you for your message of congratulations on my election as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In turn, I hope relations between all the governments of the world will be based on complete and actual respect for each other's sovereignty, and that all the deprived nations of the world will be able to freely practice their right to sovereignty over their destinies free from the domination and influence of foreign powers. [Signed] Mohammad 'Ali Raja'i, President of the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [LD131302 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 13 Aug 81]

CALLS TO FIGHT KHOMEYNI--Dear compatriots and military brothers, Khomeyni's regime has decided to liquidate you. Do not follow these criminal executioners--the criminal mullahs who have driven the army into destruction. They have sent the dear ones, officers, NCO's and soldiers to firing squads. Do not obey these criminal mullahs. Through every means possible fight against this bloodsucker and criminal regime--that has turned our Iran into a graveyard--and keep your unity. Do not stand against the nation. Aim your guns and machineguns at the criminal rulers and those who have deceived Iran's liberty. The Liberation Army of Iran, navy commandos and courageous Iranian pilots are ready to help you. [Text] [GF152003 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 15 Aug 81]

AZADEGAN WARNING TO OMAN--The Azadegan Organization has warned the Omani regime that if the two Iranian pilots--who landed at Muscat Airport in an Iranian F-27 and who are being questioned by Omani authorities--are tried or returned to Khomeyni's Islamic regime, the members of Azadegan Organization will take action against the regime of Oman. [Text] [GF161545 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 16 Aug 81]

PEOPLE ADVISED TO REPORT--The Jahrom governorate in a communique makes it the official duty of law enforcement organizations in the area to confront hypocrites and plotters decisively, with complete attention, all power and necessary effort, and to discover plotters and reveal their (?identity) to the people. In the same communique faithful Muslim brothers and sisters are asked to follow up matters with complete awareness and, while chasing and recognizing counterrevolutionary elements, to report those responsible for assassinations or terror and fright to the governor's office, Islamic Revolution Guard Corps, police or gendarmerie. In the Jahrom

governorate communique the sad events of recent days in the area--which resulted in murders of two youth and mourning by their families--are strongly condemned. According to a report by our correspondent from Jahrom's learning [as heard] center, on Thursday and Saturday evenings two youths, Javad Qana'Atiyan, aged 20, and Samad Payebaz, aged 22, were killed in Jahrom. This is the third murder in Jahrom for which a group by the name of Towhid has taken responsibility in its night pamphlet. [Text] [GF171910 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1430 GMT 17 Aug 81]

KHUZESTAN ACTING GOVERNOR GENERAL--According to the Khuzestan governorate public relations office, Ayatollah Mahdavi-Kani, the acting interior minister, has appointed Mohammad Hasan Tavalla'i, the deputy director of construction department of Khuzestan governorate, as Khuzestan's acting governor general. [Text] [GF171611 Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian 1330 GMT 17 Aug 81]

CABINET APPOINTEE APPROVED--Tehran, 17 Aug (AFP)--The Iranian Parliament today approved all but one of the 22 cabinet members nominated last Thursday by Prime Minister Mohammad Javad Bahonar. The nominee who did not make it through the vote of confidence was Hoseyn Tajgardan, the proposed transportation minister. His candidacy was refused after he carried only 70 of the 182 votes cast. A majority of the 201 members of Parliament decided on the vote of confidence procedure after debate ended earlier today on the cabinet's composition. Twenty-two ballot boxes, each bearing the name of a minister, were put in front of the lectern. Each Parliament member was given ballots with his own name on them. Hojjat ol-Eslam Sadeq Khalkhali, known for his fierce repression of drug offenses, earlier today questioned the competence of five of Hojjat ol-Eslam Bahonar's choices. [Excerpt] [NC171401 Paris AFP in English 1351 GMT 17 Aug 81]

DELIVERY OF U.S., UK ARMS--With the coming to light of the secret arms' transactions between Khomeyni's Islamic Republic and the United States and the fact that these arms were being delivered through Israel, it has been revealed that from now on and by virtue of a new agreement the middleman's role will be played by the terrorist government of Libya. On the basis of an agreement, U.S. and British arms will first be transferred to Libya from where they will be sent to Khomeyni's regime. Reports received state that the first consignment, consisting of 200 tanks, 200 (?artillery pieces) and a large amount of bombs and ammunition, will be delivered to Khomeyni's republic in the near future. [Text] [NC181509 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian to Iran 1330 GMT 18 Aug 81]

RETURN OF IRANIAN ASSETS--The United States, the friend and supporter of the criminal Khomeyni regime, returned about \$2 billion of Iranian assets that had been frozen following the capture of American diplomats. Out of this amount \$1 billion will be handed over to the court that is studying financial claims by U.S. companies against Khomeyni's regime. The remaining \$1.5 billion will be paid directly to Khomeyni's government. [As heard] [Text] [NC191618 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 19 Aug 81]

IRANIAN-UAE OILFIELD SUCCESS--The newspaper ETTELA'AT has cited a PARS report on the success of Iranian experts who are drilling an oil well in a joint oilfield located between Iran and Dubai. The oilfield is known as the Fatah field. Quoting an Iranian Petroleum Ministry spokesman, the agency reports that Dubai struck oil in this field a few months ago. However, up until now, Iran had not struck oil in its section of the field. The new well is 25 km south of the Iranian island of Siri and is in 60 meters of water. It has been drilled to a depth of 8.970 /word indistinct/. Oil was first struck at 1100 on 7 August. /Text/ /GF131120 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1815 GMT 12 Aug 81/



ITALIAN ENVOY 16 AUG MEETING--The Italian ambassador to Tehran met today with Ahmad ('Ameri), the director of the Roads and Transport Ministry. During the meeting, they discussed means of cooperation between Iran and Italy. [Text] [GF161909 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1430 GMT 16 Aug 81]

CABLE FROM MRS GANDHI--Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi has sent a congratulatory cable to Dr Mohammad Javad Bahonar on his selection as prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. In her cable Mrs Gandhi notes the old amicable relations between India and Iran during several historical stages and expresses hope that these relations will improve and expand further in the future. Dr Bahonar has also received congratulatory cables from the Bulgarian premier and the ROK prime minister. [Text] [GF171229 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1100 GMT 17 Aug 81]

MEETING WITH DPRK AMBASSADOR--The DPRK ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran met with agriculture and rural development minister, Mohammad Salamati today. During the meeting the DPRK ambassador repeated his country's invitation to the agriculture and rural development minister to participate in the session of Nonaligned and Developing Countries to be held in DPRK 26-31 August. The DPRK ambassador also affirmed the necessity of cooperation between the Islamic revolution of Iran and DPRK. [Text] [GF181650 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1430 GMT 18 Aug 81]

YUGOSLAV OFFICIAL CONGRATULATES BAHONAR--The president of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council has expressed his country's interest in bolstering cooperation and friendship between the Iranian and Yugoslav people. This came in a congratulatory cable that he sent to Dr Mohammad Javad Bahonar on his appointment as prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. [Text] [GF190555 Tehran International Service in Arabic 0400 GMT 19 Aug 81]

MESSAGES TO PRESIDENT--Tehran (Pars)--President Chadli Ben Jadid of Algeria yesterday congratulated Rajai for his new post of presidency of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Algerian president expressed his happiness on Rajai's ascension to the post of president and wished him success in shouldering the burden of the presidency. The Algerian president hoped that changes in the Islamic Republic would be in conformity to what the Imam of the people Imam Khomeini has outlined and would continue to follow the line of the Imam. The Algerian message in conclusion said that the government of Algeria looks forward to develop Iran-Algerian ties at every opportunity. The Heads of the following countries and organizations also sent similar messages. The President of East Germany, President of Italy, President of Tunisia, President of Rumania, President of North Korea, President of Lebanon, the President of West Germany, Secretary General of Polisario Front, President of Guinea, and Secretary General of the Organization of the Oil Exporting Countries (OPEC). [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 3 Aug 81 p 1]

PAKISTAN NATIONAL DAY MESSAGE--The Pakistani ambassador in Tehran has addressed a speech to the Iranian people on the occasion of his country's independence day today. In his speech the ambassador referred to the longstanding relations of fraternity and cooperation between the Iranian and Pakistani peoples. He also expressed hope that bilateral cultural, historic, political and economic relations will be strengthened and that cooperation between the two countries in all fields and scopes will be enhanced. He went on to say that the brotherly and Islamic ties between our two peoples will be further enhanced and consolidated in conformity with our countries' bilateral cultural and commercial relations. [Text] [GF150500 Tehran International Service in Arabic 2000 GMT 14 Aug 81]

CEASE FIRE TERMS--Qom (Pars)--"Withdrawal of the Baathist Forces from Iranian territory, termination of Iraqi military aggression and Saddam's trial in an international court are the three crucial proposals of Iran for bringing to an end the current war between Iran and Iraq," Friday Prayers Imam of Qom Ayatollah Meshkini commented yesterday during the Friday prayer gathering. Meshkini stated, "the three proposals by Iran for the termination of the Iraqi imposed war should be given top priority. He then pointed out that it is no use the Non-Aligned Peace Commission coming to Iran, if these proposals are not accepted. In his first sermon, Ayatollah Meshkini declared, excessive ambition and arrogance will be to the detriment of man. Later, Meshkini recalled the recent comments made by the ousted president Banisadr, confirming, "the successive assassination attempts and the frequent bomb blasts can be attributed to the evil conspiracies contrived by Banisadr and his treacherous counterparts. They wrongly believe that by carrying out extensive sabotage they will be able to return to Iran. Meshkini then added, "Even if you kill one million people, the nation will never allow you to come back to Iran." In the course of his second sermon, Ayatollah Meshkini extended his sincere condolences to Imam Khomeini and the Iranian nation upon the martyrdom of Dr Hassan Ayat which coincided with the 40th day of martyrdom of Ayatollah Dr Beheshti and 72 devout companions of the Imam. [Text] [Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 8 Aug 81 p 1]

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LEBANON

RASHID KARAMI INTERVIEWED ON POLITICAL SITUATION

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1289, 17 Jul 81 pp 14-15

[Interview with Prime Minister Rashid Karami by Amin al-Siba'i; in Beirut; date not specified: "Rashid Karami Tells AL-HAWADITH, 'The Presidential Palace No Longer Represents the Lawful Government, and the President Has Given Up His Role as Ruler' "]

[Excerpts] "Stopping at the statements of Pierre al-Jumayyil is not possible as long as dealings with Israel continue."

"I see no conflict between the positions of the Lebanese state and those of the Palestinian Revolution."

At the beginning of the interview we told Prime Minister Karami, "Despite all appearances it seems that the average citizen has resigned himself to the permanent danger and the continuing despair [that exist] despite all the measures that were being carried out while preparations for the Bayt-al-Din Conference were underway. These measures had shown some features that encouraged optimism. The general feeling is that under the best of conditions a truce will be established and will be followed in the future by military expeditions. This is because the measures that have been approved so far have not constituted a radical political solution as much as they've been sporadic security operations whose purpose was cosmetic, as much as that is possible. What is your position which will be announced in case the proposed political solution fails?"

[Answer] What is striking in our crisis, which has lasted 7 years, is that no party has been able to achieve victory over the other. This is because of those agencies that interfere whenever matters become tough to prevent any movement from imposing its will [on the people] or gaining control by force. This is part of the course [of action] that has been characterized by rigidity and hardness. It is in any case the policy of President Sarkis who is backed by the forces that advocate this slogan. We have thus seen how in every battle that takes place--whether that battle takes place on the contact lines, in Jurd al-'Aqurah, in Zahle or elsewhere--these forces help each other, come to action to propose solutions, find ways [out of the crisis] and accordingly, bring the parties to discuss

[matters]. Eventually they arrive at arrangements which begin with limited steps and partial solutions, but they never enter into a discussion of comprehensive solutions to rescue [the situation]. Therefore, it became evident from the meetings with Mr Philip Habib that his discussions with everyone he met were confined to ~~Sania~~ Heights and to the subject of the missiles. Everyone who tried to take the discussion out of this framework was met in the best of cases with silence. It is also being declared that what is required is that matters remain as they are until the investigation of the situation is completed. When a decision on the policy that will be pursued is made, a discussion of our questions and the solutions to them can then be undertaken. This means that so far and until further notice we are to stay as we are. We are being asked to be accommodating and to accept a cease fire or a truce. This would be followed later by an investigation into fundamental matters. Hence it becomes evident that the choice is confined to one of two roads: a political solution or a military solution. Our experiences indicate that these two choices are being investigated but that no one is able to launch the rescue [operation] by resorting to either one of them. Today, with the Arab Follow-Up Committee we are awaiting the results regarding the political solution. I find clear indications in the statements that President Hafiz al-Asad made to Hungarian television that [the Syrians] will try to use political and diplomatic means to get Lebanon out of its predicament. If they do not succeed, they will resort to other methods.

You can thus see what could happen if the Arab Follow-Up Committee is unable to bring about the hoped for rescue with which it has been charged.

[Question] One can thus conclude that the military solution which had been unlikely has managed to thrust itself at this stage as a likely solution. Who in your opinion is responsible for this? Are all the Lebanese responsible or only a certain group?

[Answer] I think that it is one group that is responsible, and I am referring to the Phalangists, who are still relying on the Israeli enemy.

[Correspondent's remark] This interview took place before Bashir al-Jumayyil submitted his memorandum to President Sarkis.

No one can come to an agreement with the Phalangists on this position and on their method which would move Lebanon away from its pan-Arab course and its national interests and keep it from preserving its unity, its democracy and its Arab character. Therefore, since the struggle revolves around this destiny, this history and this heritage by accepting coöperation with the enemy, I do not believe that a solution can be reached with the situation being as it is. Therefore, the decisive solution will be one [imposed] by force, and this will happen if those who deal with [the enemy] and those who have deviated from the proper course adhere to their positions.

[Question] There is information that when you, as a delegation representing the Islamic Grouping, met with the foreign ministers of the Arab



Follow-Up Committee at B'abda Palace, statements were made during the discussion that boycotting those who deal with Israel should be confined to those who deal with Israel only and that the dialogue must be expanded and must continue with those inside the Lebanese Front and with the Maronites who do not deal with Israel.

[Answer] The Arab ministers did not suggest this to us.

[Question] The suggestion was Lebanese!

[Answer] I think this opinion has to take shape through practice. What is required then of those to whom you are referring is that they proclaim a position opposing that of those who deal with Israel and support the other forces for the purpose of saving Lebanon from what it is being exposed to because reliance on Israel is the principal threat to all of us. Therefore, all the people have to join forces to foil this conspiracy. Afterwards everything can be settled in light of the higher interests of the homeland. There would be no restrictions on such cooperation; in fact, it would become a national duty.

[Question] Then you do not consider what al-Shaykh Pierre al-Jumayyil said in the statements he made, criticizing the idea of cooperation with Israel to be adequate to close the chapter on dealing with Israel?

[Answer] Neither I nor anyone else can consider such statements that are followed by [other] statements [adequate]. Altogether these statements mean nothing. They are, however, domestic barriers [set up by al-Jumayyil] according to his mood and what [he thinks] the market will bear. Therefore, one cannot stop at these statements as long as the dealings with Israel continue and as long as all the forces are still calling for a candid position that would be followed by congruent positions and practices so that everyone would be assured that this matter has come to an end, and Lebanon has returned with all its citizens to the course of unity, Arabism and lawfulness.

[Question] What is the specific formula that would be good enough to give shape to this return?

[Answer] There is no doubt that an official, unequivocal announcement by those who deal with Israel is what must determine the course they must take. Accordingly, the state has to play its role and undertake its responsibilities so it can extend its authority all over Lebanon and bring an end to the unlawful presence, especially of those who deal with Israel.

[Question] Some time ago you had proposed that a national conference be convened in the presidential palace so that a dialogue can take place. It seems that this dialogue is no longer possible even if the Presidential Palace were to call for it, since the question of dealing with Israel has created all these obstacles. Is there another way out?

[Answer] We regret to say that the presidential palace in all its practices and positions no longer represents the Lebanese lawful [government]

that would pull together all those around it. Since the presidential palace does deal with those who deal with Israel; since it places everyone on the same level; and since it has abandoned its role as ruler, I believe the correction must begin with the government itself. Unless this takes place, I believe that nothing else can be achieved.

[Question] Is this position final? Will it not be changed even if the state were to achieve a suitable formula for a political solution with the Follow-Up Committee?

[Answer] Everything depends on the lawful government's commitment to its constitutional oath and its national responsibilities. When the Arab Follow-Up Committee determines the steps that would lead to the correction of this situation, new climates will have been created, and we can then proceed towards taking the required steps.

[Question] To correct the situation in the government legal steps must be taken such as drafting legislation that would be approved by two thirds of the Chamber of Deputies to re-schedule the date for electing a new president sooner. Are you thinking of leading the parliamentary campaign to amend the constitution so that what you are referring to can be achieved?

[Answer] There is no doubt that I did propose this solution because I know that after 5 years in office President Sarkis is in a psychological condition that has created problems which he would find difficult to depart from. This is because it is his erroneous equation that caused him to lose his leadership role and the possibilities he had for saving the country from [the problems] in which it is floundering. We also see that what is left of his term is in fact not enough for him to stay with the course of rescue until it runs its course and achieves its objectives. The current president also may not commit the future president to agreements and arrangements that would differ considerably from his ways of thinking and his inclinations. President Sarkis himself approves of this. It is also the right of the future president to be informed of what is happening because most of what is happening will apply to his term. For all these reasons I proposed that a new president be elected before the expiration of the term of the current president.

[Question] How many months before?

[Answer] I do not think the question is one of time. This is a question that is rather subject to this stage during which the Arab Follow-Up Committee is undertaking its efforts. I think it would be beneficial for the election of the new president to take place as soon as possible.

[Question] Do you think that the political climate is suitable for obtaining the support of two thirds of the members of the Chamber of Deputies to amend the constitution and set a closer date for electing the new president?

[Answer] I think that when it becomes clear who is behind all these considerations that have been mentioned, it is inevitable then that everybody

will perceive his responsibility and will join forces with others to find the most suitable and the best ways out [of this predicament]. I believe that then everyone will agree with me that what I proposed was right.

[Question] There is a solution which some people think is more likely than a military solution and more likely than setting a closer date for the presidential elections. This solution is for you to head a six-party government of activists that would include leaders representing the Lebanese Front who do not deal with Israel. You would undertake the task of correcting the situation during the remaining term of President Sarkis. What do you think about that, and are you prepared to do so?

[Answer] With President Sarkis present, with his way of thinking and acting, and considering what he has been able to achieve throughout these 5 years, foiling every attempt and wasting every opportunity that became available because of his erroneous equations and his direct relations and dealings with those who deal with Israel, I wonder how a harmonious government of adversaries can be established in view of these mutual contradictions. [I wonder] how such a government can put an end to all these obstacles and how it can remove the difficulties from the course of rescue. I think that this process requires, first, that everyone have one choice and that choice would be to endorse the unity, the Arab character and the democracy of Lebanon. Second, a reform program that consists of the 14 principles and the constitutional document is to be drawn up, and there is to be agreement on this program. Afterwards a task force can be formed to implement what has been agreed to, not its opposite. This is because what I fear most if such a government is set up is that there be strife within the government over everything that is proposed or every question that arises. After that this government would fail and the country would continue to flounder in its crisis, and this in my view cannot be allowed to happen.

[Question] Some time ago you proposed that Lebanon sign a cooperation treaty with the Soviet Union. A few politicians found this suggestion to be a violation of Lebanon's neutrality between the two camps and a violation of the National Charter. They asked If you would sign such a treaty if you were prime minister.

[Answer] I think there was some confusion about that statement which I made. The statement I made was said in the context of a statement which Mr Dory Sham'un had made in Europe. He had said that if conditions remained as they are, those who represented them were prepared to undertake the measure of investigating with the Soviet Union [the possibility of] achieving a treaty according to which the Soviet Union would be given a naval base in Juniyah. When the crisis of Zahle evolved and the Soviet fleet came into the Mediterranean Sea, I said that the question had become rife for them since Juniyah was all ready and the Soviet fleet was nearby for the operation which Mr Dory Sham'un had suggested should take place. Hence we said we were not among those who opposed such a course of action if they are the ones to undertake it.

[Question] Contradictions have appeared recently in your ranks towards

some positions. While you have affirmed your insistence on the constitutional document, Mr Walid Junblat has called for staying away from it and adopting secularism. This has raised questions about the future of your project which seeks to unify and coordinate positions among leaders of the same party?

[Answer] I do not think that there is any conflict in the proposals that have been made by some or by others. I will present our views again, and I think they will meet with everyone's approval. The constitutional document is considered a whole that cannot be broken into parts because it established a balanced solution to the various political questions that are being raised. When an endorsement of the sectarian nature of the three leadership positions is sought, such an endorsement depends on the implementation of the articles of the constitutional document so that the authority of each one of these positions can be preserved and, accordingly, the responsibilities determined in a manner that would preclude conflict and confusion. What is more important in this regard is the selection of the prime minister by the Chamber of Deputies. If they were to go back for discussions, considering that the endorsement of the leadership positions has been settled once and for all and if they were to get rid of the other conditions that were mentioned to correct the reality of endorsing and controlling the leadership positions so as to achieve balance, we would then reject all these proposals and insist on abolishing political sectarianism absolutely, beginning with the presidency and down to the last position in this state. The subject of secularization is another matter because it has to do with religious beliefs. We said, and our position is still the same, that we support secularization in everything that does not conflict with religion. Accordingly, we approve within these boundaries of what the religious authorities approve of.

[Question] In the context of looking for a radical solution, calls are being made to encourage dealing with the heart of the problem in the south and drawing up a new agreement between the state and the Palestinian Resistance. This new agreement would replace the Cairo Agreement and build on the situation that exists at the present time. Given your experience in government and the 1969 conditions, do you think that this suggestion could hold a solution?

[Answer] I would like to present that question to the Lebanese people from another perspective. Given everything that has happened and taken place and given the state of chaos and the absence and decline [of authority] that we are facing today in every area, and especially the weakness, the inertia and the disintegration of the state, [I would ask the Lebanese people about] our situation prior to the events and under the agreements that the authorities tried to use to set limits for what the Palestinian Revolution can do. These extraordinary practices by the Palestinian Revolution sometimes led to a clash between the forces of the government and the forces of the Resistance, and these occasionally ended in settlements and bittersweet solutions. The question is this: despite all these excesses, deplorable practices and occasional clashes, were we better off then or are we better off now with no agreements being adhered to, no authority to



monitor [affairs], and no forces able to impose what is in the interests of Lebanon and its sovereignty? What was the outcome of the policy, the ideas and the conduct of those who formed militias and opposed the Palestinian Resistance under the pretext that they wanted to defend the state and the lawful government? Merely raising that question would give one the answer.

We support the agreements. We support the sovereignty of the state, and we support the legitimate Palestinian struggle to achieve the legitimate national Palestinian rights which the whole world has acknowledged. I find no conflict between the state and the revolution. In fact both of them have to cooperate with national and pan-Arab interests to foil the partition and settlement [plans] because the weakness of one would weaken the other.

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## LEBANON

### STATE REVENUES, DEBTS, FOREIGN AID DISCUSSED

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic No 1289, 17 Jul 81 pp 45-46

[Article by 'Adnan Karimah: "Profits of Central Bank Are Most Significant Revenues; Customs Revenues Are Least Significant; Lebanon Lost, but Lebanese People Gained; Public Debt Rose to 7 Billion; Lebanon's Situation Continues To Be Better than That of Jordan, Belgium"]

[Text] Minister of Finance Dr 'Ali al-Khalil issued an official statement announcing a 16 percent increase in the state's revenues from 3.869 billion pounds in 1980 to 4.489 billion pounds in 1981.

Although these are the bookkeeping figures and are traceable to budget estimates, they did surprise a few businessmen who naturally had doubts about the possibility of realizing such an increase. Those businessmen even estimated that real revenues may be a little over 1 billion pounds. That is only about 22 percent of the estimated revenues.

There is no doubt that the state has suffered the greatest losses from the war that has been going on for about 7 years. It is true that the Lebanese people lost their property and their institutions and that some of them lost their lives, but most of them benefited economically and managed to coexist with the war. Those people are divided into two groups:

A group left Lebanon and worked abroad, achieving spectacular success that increased their financial resources. This is evident and reflected in the funds the Lebanese people transfer to their families in the homeland. These funds contributed to the formation of a surplus in the balance of payments that amounted to 475 million dollars in 1980. In addition, the volume of Lebanese investments abroad increased.

The other group, which remained in Lebanon despite the losses they suffered [in their property] and annual incomes--that is, in the balance of profits and losses--were able to coexist with the events and to adjust all aspects of their commercial, industrial or investment operations. In the area of expenditures, for example, a few organizations reduced the number of employees. Others came to an agreement with workers to reduce wages. [Such measures] led these organizations to realize concrete profits and

enabled them to stay in business. In addition, the value of their assets multiplied many times because of inflation and high prices.

Figures of the deposits made in Lebanon's commercial banks may provide clear evidence of the Lebanese people's financial and economic activity. These deposits rose from 9.651 billion pounds in 1975 to 24.575 billion pounds in September 1980. This is an increase of over 154 percent.

The state was in a different position. The war prevented it from sharing the profits of the Lebanese citizens, and it lost most of its income resources without being able to lay off any employees or reduce their salaries. Quite the contrary it raised employees' salaries at a rate that some experts say exceeded wage increases in the private sector. The number of civil servants also rose. Therefore, expenses under the first section of the budget, that is, salaries and wages, rose from 1.149 billion pounds in 1975 to 3.392 billion pounds in 1981. This is approximately a 200 percent increase. These expenses used up 75 percent of the state's general budget which amounts to 4.489 billion pounds for the current year.

It seems that the activity of Lebanese citizens in the private sector did not encourage civil servants to become active themselves, fulfill their civil service duties and collect the state's shares of those profits. Using the excuse of overpowering security conditions, most of them stayed away from their posts except at the end of each month to get their salaries.

However, some of those who come to the official agencies of the state to do their work are energetic, honest, content and satisfied with their work and loyal to it. Another group, however, is quite different. [People who are in the latter group] rejected the notion that their fellow citizens in the private sector should become active and increase their investments and profits without their having a share of those profits in return for certain services, even if those services were done at the expense of the state. It is known that this kind of civil servants, in the eyes of some people and under those conditions, may be regarded as better than the other kind who refuse to report to their jobs. That preference is based on the fact that the former group contribute to ensuring the income of the state whereas the second group receive salaries without doing any work in return.

There is more than one administrative agency in the state in which employees work with brokers to execute the business of their clients. This activity is especially prominent in customs agencies and real estate agencies where each group of businessmen now has a group of brokers who specialize in the prompt execution of business at the least possible cost.

Customs revenues are usually considered one of the indicators of a country's economic activity. But in Lebanon and under the conditions of the war, this is not the case. In 1974, that is, before the war, customs fees constituted 47 percent of the state's total revenues. This declined to 27 per cent in 1980. It is estimated that customs fees will make up about 14 percent of the state's revenues this year. Customs revenues during the last 6 months amounted to about 212 million pounds. Observers expect these revenues will not go below 500 million pounds in 1981.

The reason for this, as is well-known, is due to the prevalence of smuggling and the failure of all the anti-smuggling attempts considered by the state. Minister of Finance Dr 'Ali al-Khalil admits this is a natural result of the lack of security and the fact that the state is not in control of all the facilities and the localities where the various goods come into the country.

Smuggling in Lebanon under the conditions of the war passes through two routes: The first goes through the illegal ports where parties collect the fees and deprive the state of these revenues.

The second route goes through the brokers and their partners among whom are some civil servants who offer services to importers by charging them reduced fees for their goods which enter Lebanon from the legal ports.

"Had it not been for smuggling," as the minister of finance says, "customs revenues would have reached 1.5 billion pounds annually." But the chairman of the Development and Construction Council, Dr Muhammad 'Atallah raises this figure to 2.5 billion on the basis of the activity of the private sector and the increase of imports from abroad.

At any rate customs revenues remain one of the three most important sources of state revenues despite the smuggling activity that is protected by the war and the disturbances in security. There are automobile fees and registration fees, such as real estate registration from which total actual revenues this year will amount to about 250 million pounds. But the source of revenue that is more important than the first two sources is that of the state's share of the profits of the Bank of Lebanon. These profits come from the bank's currency operations and deposits abroad. The ministry has estimated [its share of the bank's profits] for the present year to be 725 million pounds. This figure is the only one mentioned in the estimated revenues for the 1981 budget because it is close to being actually collected.

The state then finds itself in the red when it comes to computing profit and loss. It spends 3.392 billion pounds for employees' wages and salaries, but its revenues do not come to even half this sum. [Therefore], the state borrows from the Central Bank and from commercial banks to pay the rest.

According to the information of the minister of finance the state's public debt amounted to 4.539 billion pounds distributed as follows:

--About 725 million pounds in foreign debts until the end of 1980.

--3.815 billion pounds in domestic debts. About 2.787 billion pounds of that sum are debts to commercial banks, to the Deposit Insurance Organization and to the Social Security Fund. The debts arose from the sale of treasury certificates, and the rest are debts to the Central Bank.

If the unstable security conditions continue, observers expect the public debt of the Lebanese state to exceed 7 billion pounds by the end of this year.



The question that is being raised here is this:

What is the role of Arab aid funds in alleviating the burden of debt from the Lebanese state?

One and a half years have gone by since implementation of the Tunisia Summit resolutions began, giving Lebanon 2 billion dollars over a 5-year period at a rate of 400 million dollars a year. Of the 600 million dollars that were due by the end of last June, only 206 million dollars have been received. It seems that receipt of the rest awaits the stabilization of the security situation, as some Arab diplomatic sources in Beirut said.

But these funds are earmarked for Lebanon's reconstruction projects. Half of them are to be implemented in the south and the other half in the remaining areas of Lebanon. They reduce the state's need to borrow from abroad to finance projects. But the urgent spending which the treasury faces every month is that of [paying] the wages and salaries of civil servants. This requires continuous borrowing from the Central Bank and from commercial banks so these expenses can be met. This is because Arab aid funds cannot be re-allocated so the money can be spent on salaries and wages.

Regardless of the matter it seems that Lebanon's public debt has not yet reached the stage that worries officials. At the present time that debt constitutes about 30 percent of the national product which is estimated to be about 15 million pounds. Lebanon is thus on an equal footing with the United States whose public debt is equal to 30 percent of its national product. Lebanon's debt is greater than Venezuela's (23 percent), Australia's (25 percent), and Canada's and Japan's (26 percent). By comparison Lebanon's situation is better than that of Belgium, whose debts constitute 50 percent of its national product; Italy, whose debts are 62 percent of its national product, and Jordan, whose debts are 72 percent of its national product.

Since reserves are usually formed during times of good fortune so they can be used during times of bad fortune, Lebanon can continue to borrow against the state's currency reserves at the Bank of Lebanon. The Ministry of Finance has estimated this reserve in the draft [faslakah] 1981 budget to be about 25 billion pounds; that is equal to six times the currency in circulation.

In addition, there are debts to the treasury from the taxes that are due from companies and organizations for previous years. These taxes exceed 1 billion pounds. There are also treasury loans that amount to about 4 billion pounds and are traceable to a number of organizations and agencies, the most prominent of which is the Lebanon Electricity Organization and the municipalities. The state must get back these loans after these organizations collect the fees and subscriptions. This has not been possible because of security conditions.

Lebanon then has a debt of 4.5 billion pounds and a financial claim for about 5 billion pounds.

There is no doubt that the minister of finance relied on all these factors when he recently reassured the Lebanese people and those who are concerned about the soundness of the Lebanese economy. He said, "I am announcing from a position of responsibility that our economic and financial situation is still sound despite the difficulties we are facing which several countries would not have borne had they been hit by the same misfortune that befell us. This is because we did not resort to any emergency measure, nor did we touch the gold reserve. The treasury deficit is not the result of a weakness in the economic structure or an imbalance in the financial structure. It is an unexpected deficit that has resulted from the events which caused treasury revenues to decline. These will recover as soon as we have even a relative relaxation of the political and security situation."

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